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Message Text

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62
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-04 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 SAM-01

TRSE-00 SWF-01 AGR-05 /074 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:RJCARROLL:MJB
APPROVED BY EUR - WELLS STABLER
EUR/SE - N. C. LEDSKY
EUR/P - E. SAVAGE
---------- 016888
P R 1,0041Z OCT 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, SREF, CY
SUBJECT:KENNEDY SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT ON CYPRUS REFUGEES

REF: NICOSIA 3577
1. FULL TEXT OF KENNEDY SUBCOMMITTEE 77-PAGE REPORT ON CYPRUS REFUGEES IS BEING POUCHED TO ADDRESSEES. FOLLOWING IS A PRECIS OF REPORT'S FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND OF SENATOR KENNEDY'S REMARKS RELATING TO THE REPORT:

2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: AMERICAN POLICY AFTER JULY 15 COUP APPEARED TO PLACE IN BEST LIGHT EVENTS IN NICOSIA AND INTERVENTION OF GREEK JUNTA. THERE WAS NO OFFICIAL US CONDEMNATION OF COUP. TURKEY APPEARS TO HAVE INTERPRETED
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US POLICY AS TACIT ACCEPTANCE OF SAMPSON CLIQUE AND PERHAPS SAW NO ALTERNATIVE TO MILITARY OPTION OF INVASION.

3. AFTER GENEVA TALKS BROKE DOWN, SECOND PHASE OF INVASION IN WHICH 40,000 TURKISH TROOPS OCCUPIED OVER 40 PER CENT OF CYPRUS, CREATED 282,000 GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT REFUGEES, DETAINEES, PW'S AND OTHERS CUT OFF AND IN NEED OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE.

4. THERE WAS MINIMAL STRUCTURAL DAMAGE BUT WIDESPREAD LOOTING. ECONOMIC IMPACT OF INVASION WAS DEVASTATING. ALSO DESTROYED WAS CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF ISLAND.

5. AMONG OPTIONS FOR NEW STRUCTURE, MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN ANKARA AND WASHINGTON IS SOME FORM OF TERRITORIAL SEPARATION WHICH, WHETHER CALLED "BI-REGIONAL-ISM", "ZONAL" DIVISION OR "FEDERAL" STRUCTURE, IS TANTA-MOUNT TO PARTITION. CURRENT STALEMATE RISKS DE FACTO PARTITION -- DOUBLE ENOSIS -- OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC UNION OF TWO PARTS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY. DRIFT IN THIS DIRECTION ALREADY APPARENT ON TURKISH OCCUPIED SIDE.

6. PARTITION ALONG LINES TURKEY HAS DEMANDED WOULD REQUIRE RESETTLING HALF THE POPULATION TO CREATE TURKISH CYPRIOT MAJORITIES IN ONE PART OF ISLAND AND WOULD ALTER POPULATION DENSITY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CYPRUS.

7. WITHIN A MONTH, 40 PER CENT OF GREEK CYPRIOT POPULA-TIONS RENDERED HOMELESS. ESTABLISHING NECESSARY REFUGEE CAMP SITES HAS COST 22 MILLION. CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION SHOWED COMMENDABLE CAPACITY UNDERTAKE RELIEF PROGRAMS AND ABSORB RELIEF ASSISTANCE. ASSISTANCE FROM OUTSIDE ISLAND HAS BEEN MINIMAL. UNHCR AND ICRC APPEALS HAVE BROUGHT ONLY TOKEN RESPONSES. WHILE INITIAL ENTHUSIASM AND SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THREATENS TO DRY UP, MASSIVE RELIEF NEEDS WILL ESCALATE UNTIL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED. UNFICYP AND UNHCR PLAYING CRUCIAL HUMANITARIAN ROLE, BOTH ORGANIZATIONS ARE RESTRICTED IN THEIR MOVEMENT PARTICULARLY INTO TURKISH OCCUPIED AREAS.
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8. US POLICY: EVIDENCE IN FIELD DESPITE ADMINISTRATION DENIALS, SUGGESTS PERCEPTIBLE "TILT" TOWARD TURKEY. IN EARLY DAYS, POLICY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN HASTY IMPROVISATION, COLDLY CALCULATED TO MINIMIZE DISTURBANCES WITHIN NATO. THIS ACHIEVED OPPOSITE RESULT AND FAILED DEFENSELESS PEOPLE OF CYPRUS. "TILT" EVIDENT IN LONG LIST OF OMIS-

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SIONS IN US DIPLOMACY, OUR CLEAR ASSOCIATION WITH FUNDA-
MENTALS OF TURKISH NEGOTIATING POSITION, AND OUR CYNICAL
USE OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES TO
FURTHER OUR POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ENDS.

9. EVIDENCE SUGGESTS SOME OF POLICY CONSIDERATION IN
GIVING HUMANITARIAN AID TO GREEK REFUGEES INCLUDED NEED
TO IMPROVE POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC CLIMATE, TO SHOW TO GREECE
AND CYPRUS WE WERE FOLLOWING "BALANCED" POLICY, TO KEEP
REFUGEES CONTAINED SO AS TO BUY TIME TO ASSIST ANKARA IN
CONSOLIDATING ITS POSITION, AND TO HELP REFURBISH TURKEY'S
INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, THEREBY STRENGTHENING ITS BARGAINING
POSITION.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS:
A. US SHOULD TURN ITS FULL ENERGIES TO RESTORING FULL
INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF
CYPRUS. ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES, MINUS A "TILT"
SHOULD BE MADE TO BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY SINCE ONLY US
CAN MOVE BOTH. NEW GUARANTEES FOR FUTURE INDEPENDENCE
AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS WILL BE NEEDED AND MUST
BE ACHIEVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

B. US SHOULD SUPPORT UNANIMOUS UN CALLS FOR PHASED
WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS.

C. US SHOULD USE ITS VAST INFLUENCE AND GOOD OFFICES
WITH TURKEY TO PERSUADE IT TO ALLOW AS GOODWILL GESTURE
WHICH MAY BREAK NEGOTIATING DEADLOCK, RETURN OF SUB-
STANTIAL NUMBER OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMES.

D. ANY NEW POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE MUST
PROVIDE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY WITH GREATER SECURITY,
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AUTONOMY, AND PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC LIFE OF CYPRUS.
THEIR GRIEVANCES OVER PAST DECADE WERE MAINLY LEGITIMATE
AND SERIOUS.

E. CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS ARE CRUCIAL AND MUST BE MORE
ACTIVELY SUPPORTED.

F. FAILURE OF UN FORCES ON CYPRUS IS DUE TO SEVERE
LIMITATIONS OF UNFICYP MANDATE, WHICH IS OUTDATED AND
UNRELATED TO CURRENT SITUATION -- THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN
OCCUPYING ARMY. US SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN
AND BROADEN UNFICYP MANDATE.

G. US SHOULD ESCALATE ITS RELIEF CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMME-

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DIATELY COMMIT DOLS. 10 MILLION TO UNHCR RELIEF EFFO TS.

H. US SHOULD EXERT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO BREAK RELIEF BOTTLENECKS CAUSED BY TURKEY'S UNWILLINGNESS TO RE-OPEN NICOSIA AIRPORT.

I. US MUST ACTIVELY SUPPORT INITIATIVES TO MEET IMMEDIATE RELIEF NEEDS OF FOOD SUPPLIES AND PROGRAMS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC RELIEF THROUGH INTERNATIONAL CHANNELS AND THROUGH P.L. 480 "FOOD FOR FOOD" AND RELATED FOOD PROGRAMS AS RECOMMENDED BY AMEMBASSY NICOSIA.

11. KENNEDY'S REMARKS: "RECORD IS CLEAR US BEARS SOME HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MESS IN CYPRUS, AND THE HUMAN AND POLITICAL TRAGEDY OF CYPRIOT PEOPLE. IT IS ALSO CLEAR, OUR COUNTRY AND OTHERS HAVE HUMANITARIAN OBLIGATION TO SUPPORT RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OF CYPRIOT

REFUGEES. BUT TO DO THIS IN CONTEXT OF PROMOTING TURKISH INTERESTS IS A SAD COMMENTARY ON OUR GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN FOR PEOPLE. MOREOVER, LIKE THE PRESIDENT'S BUSINESS-AS-USUAL ATTITUDE TOWARD MILITARY SHIPMENTS TO TURKEY, OUR POLICY TOWARD REFUGEES ONLY ENCOURAGES ANKARA'S INTRANSIGENCY IN NEGOTIATION, AND NEEDLESSLY FEEDS FRUSTRATION ON CYPRUS AND AMONG OUR FRIENDS IN GREECE. I AM APPALLED AT THE STUDY MISSION'S FINDINGS, AND THE OMISSIONS IN OUR COUNTRY'S POLICY AND DIPLOMACY
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TOWARD CYPRUS." INGERSOLL

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*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REFUGEES, US CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE228201
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RJCARROLL:MJB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: n/a
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740294-1168
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741087/aaaahfbd.tel
Line Count: 207
Locator: TEXT ON MICROFILM, TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 74 NICOSIA 3577
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2002 by elyme>
Review Markings:

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EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 971106
Subject: KENNEDY SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT ON CYPRUS REFUGEES
TAGS: PFOR, SREF, CY
To: NICOSIA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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